

Message Text

SECRET

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S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 03318

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM
SUBJECT: MINISTER SEMENOV'S STATEMENT OF MARCH 2, 1978
(SALT TWO-1645)

SEMENOV STATEMENT, MARCH 2, 1978

- I

TODAY THE USSR DELEGATION INTENDS FURTHER TO ADDRESS
THE QUESTIONS INVOLVED IN REACHING AGREEMENT ON
ARTICLE II, PAR. 3, OF THE DRAFT TREATY--ON THE DEFINITION
OF HEAVY BOMBERS. THIS IS ONE OF THE PROVISIONS OF MAJOR
IMPORTANCE IN THE DOCUMENT BEING WORKED OUT.

LEAVING ASIDE PARAGRAPH 6, PARAGRAPH 3 IS PRESENTLY
THE ONLY TOTALLY BRACKETED PARAGRAPH IN THE DRAFT'S
ARTICLE II WHICH CONTAINS THE DEFINITIONS OF THE STRATEGIC
OFFENSIVE ARMS BEING LIMITED UNDER THE TREATY.

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SOME FOUR MONTHS AGO THE SOVIET SIDE TABLED A SET OF
CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSALS ON THE QUESTIONS INVOLVED IN
REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE PROVISIONS CONCERNING THE
LIMITATIONS ON HEAVY BOMBERS BEING ESTABLISHED UNDER THE
NEW TREATY. THESE PROPOSALS, BASED ON THE VLADIVOSTOK
UNDERSTANDING AND THE RESULTS OF SUBSEQUENT SOVIET-U.S.
NEGOTIATIONS, TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE DISCUSSIONS HELD

BETWEEN THE SIDES, AND, IN THEIR TOTALITY, OFFER AN EFFECTIVE SOLUTION FOR THIS MAJOR ISSUE IN STRICT CONFORMITY WITH THE AGREED PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY.

IN THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS THE USSR DELEGATION HAS REPEATEDLY CALLED ATTENTION TO THE IMPORTANCE OF ENSURING PROGRESS IN THIS AREA. THE U.S. SIDE EXPRESSED AGREEMENT WITH THIS, BUT TO DATE IT HAS FAILED TO REACT CONSTRUCTIVELY.

IT IS OBVIOUS THAT IT HAS LONG AGO BECOME NECESSARY TO APPLY APPROPRIATE EFFORTS TOWARD REACHING AGREEMENT ON MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS FOR THE WORDING OF ARTICLE II, PAR. 3, OF THE DRAFT BEING PREPARED, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS PARAGRAPH IN THE SYSTEM OF THE OBLIGATIONS BEING ESTABLISHED UNDER THE TREATY. THE BASIS FOR THIS DOES EXIST.

- II

IN ARTICLE II, PAR. 3, OF THE DRAFT TREATY AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED ON THE SPECIFIC TYPES OF BOMBERS PRESENTLY INCLUDED AMONG HEAVY BOMBERS, NAMELY: B-52 AND B-1 FOR THE U.S., AND TUPOLEV-95 AND MYASISHCHEV FOR THE USSR.

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IT HAS BEEN REPEATEDLY SAID HERE THAT THE APPROACH EXPRESSED IN THE BRACKETED WORDS OF THAT PARAGRAPH-- "HOWEVER CONFIGURED"--IS INCONSISTENT WITH THE AIDE-MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1974, RECORDING THE VLADIVOSTOK UNDERSTANDING. IN ESSENCE THIS WORDING IS AIMED AT MAKING IT POSSIBLE FOR AIRPLANES WHICH ARE NOT HEAVY BOMBERS TO BE COUNTED AMONG HEAVY BOMBERS; BUT THIS WOULD BE CONTRARY TO THE FUNDAMENTAL EXISTING UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE SIDES. THAT SUCH AN APPROACH IS GROUNDLESS BECOMES QUITE OBVIOUS WHEN CONSIDERING THE QUESTION OF HEAVY BOMBERS WITH CRUISE MISSILES CAPABLE OF A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS. AS FOR SOVIET MYASISHCHEV TYPE TANKER AIRCRAFT AND TUPOLEV-142 ASW AIRCRAFT, THAT GROUNDLESSNESS HAS BEEN REPEATEDLY DEMONSTRATED BY THE USSR DELEGATION WHICH PROVIDED EXTENSIVE RATIONALE, AT THE MEETINGS OF FEBRUARY 8 AND 16, 1978 AMONG OTHERS.

- III

IN THE CONTEXT OF WORKING OUT MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE PROVISIONS FOR ARTICLE II, PAR. 3, OF THE DRAFT TREATY, THE QUESTION OF TYPES OF BOMBERS SUBJECT TO BE INCLUDED

AS HEAVY BOMBERS IN THE FUTURE IS OF MAJOR IMPORTANCE.
THE SOVIET SIDE'S CONSIDERATIONS ON THIS SCORE HAVE BEEN
SET FORTH IN DETAIL BY THE USSR DELEGATION, IN PARTICULAR,
AT THE JANUARY 12, 1978 MEETING.

AS YOU KNOW, SOME TIME AGO THE SOVIET SIDE HAD MOVED
TO ACCOMMODATE THE U.S. SIDE BY AGREEING TO USE THE "TYPE"
CONCEPT WITH RESPECT TO THE DEFINITION OF HEAVY BOMBERS.

THE USSR DELEGATION PROCEEDS FROM THE PREMISE THAT THE

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AGREED APPROACH, BASED ON THIS CONCEPT, MUST BE
CONSISTENTLY APPLIED TO ALL TYPES OF BOMBERS TO BE COUNTED
AS HEAVY BOMBERS IN THE FUTURE. IN THIS CONNECTION,
INCLUSION OF NEW TYPES OF BOMBERS AS HEAVY BOMBERS ALSO
MUST BE THE SUBJECT OF CONSULTATION BETWEEN THE SIDES ON
A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS. A DIFFERENT APPROACH WHICH, IN
PARTICULAR, WOULD PROVIDE FOR THE POSSIBILITY OF ONE OF
THE SIDES UNILATERALLY DESIGNATING AN INDIVIDUAL BOMBER
EQUIPPED FOR CRUISE MISSILES CAPABLE OF A RANGE IN EXCESS
OF 600 KILOMETERS, WOULD BE INCONSISTENT WITH OUR ASSIGNED
TASK AND THE GENERAL APPROACH BASED ON THE USE OF THE
"TYPE" CONCEPT.

ACCORDING TO EXISTING AGREEMENT, HEAVY BOMBERS, IF
EQUIPPED FOR CRUISE MISSILES CAPABLE OF A RANGE IN EXCESS
OF 600 KILOMETERS, ARE TO BE COUNTED WITHIN THE 1,320
AGGREGATE NUMBER BEING ESTABLISHED UNDER THE TREATY.

IN THIS CONNECTION, THE SOVIET SIDE HAS PROPOSED THAT
IF A BOMBER IS EQUIPPED FOR CRUISE MISSILES CAPABLE OF A
RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS, THEN ALL BOMBERS OF THAT

TYPE ARE TO BE CONSIDERED AS EQUIPPED FOR SUCH MISSILES.

HERE THE SOVIET SIDE PROCEEDS FROM THE PREMISE THAT,
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IN THE CONTEXT OF THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE II, PAR. 3,
BOMBERS ARE THOSE TYPES OF AIRPLANES WHICH HAVE BEEN
SPECIALLY BUILT TO BE EQUIPPED WITH BOMBS OR MISSILES.

THE USSR DELEGATION TABLED A PROPOSAL APPROPRIATELY TO
RECORD A PROVISION ON THIS SCORE.

AGREEMENT ON THIS QUESTION WOULD MAKE IT CLEAR WHICH
AIRPLANES, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE LIMITATIONS BEING WORKED
OUT, COULD BE EQUIPPED WITH CRUISE MISSILES CAPABLE OF A
RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS, OR WITH AIR-TO-SURFACE
BALLISTIC MISSILES CAPABLE OF A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600
KILOMETERS.

ACCORDING TO THE SOVIET SIDE'S APPROACH, SUCH AIR-
PLANES, IN THE CONTEXT OF THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE II,
PAR. 3, ARE PRECISELY BOMBERS, I.E., THOSE TYPES OF AIR-
PLANES WHICH ARE SPECIALLY BUILT TO BE EQUIPPED WITH
BOMBS OR MISSILES. I MUST SAY THAT THE U.S. SIDE, TOO,
CANNOT BUT BE INTERESTED IN SUCH A SOLUTION.

IN THIS CONNECTION IT IS ASSUMED THAT THE SIDES WILL
NOT FLIGHT TEST CRUISE OR BALLISTIC MISSILES CAPABLE OF A
RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS FROM TRANSPORT AIR-
PLANES, WILL NOT DEPLOY TRANSPORT AIRPLANES EQUIPPED FOR
SUCH MISSILES, AND WILL NOT CONVERT TRANSPORT AIRPLANES
FOR THESE PURPOSES.

ALL THIS, TAKEN TOGETHER, PROVIDES AN ADEQUATE
SOLUTION, EQUAL FOR BOTH SIDES, FOR THE LIMITATION OF
BOMBERS, WHEN THEY ARE EQUIPPED WITH LONG-RANGE MISSILES,
AND ENSURES ESTABLISHMENT OF CLEAR-CUT LIMITATIONS WITH
REGARD TO THIS TYPE OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS.

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- IV

IN THE COURSE OF THE ONGOING NEGOTIATIONS THE U.S.
SIDE HAS RAISED QUESTIONS HERE CONCERNING SOVIET TANKER
AND ASW AIRCRAFT. THIS WAS ADDRESSED AGAIN IN THE U.S.

DELEGATION'S STATEMENT AT THE FEBRUARY 23, 1978 MEETING.

I WOULD LIKE TO STRESS IN THIS CONNECTION THAT THE PROPOSALS TABLED BY THE SOVIET SIDE ON THE RELEVANT ASPECTS OF THE PROVISIONS BEING WORKED OUT FOR ARTICLE II, PAR. 3, OF THE TREATY, COUPLED WITH THE SPECIFIC AND REASONED CLARIFICATIONS CONCERNING THE AFOREMENTIONED AIRCRAFT SET FORTH BY THE USSR DELEGATION, AT THE FEBRUARY 8 AND 16, 1978 MEETINGS AMONG OTHERS PROVIDE A SOLUTION TO THE QUESTION OF SOVIET TANKER AND ASW AIRCRAFT, AS IT WAS RAISED IN THE CONTEXT OF THE ONGOING NEGOTIATIONS.

- V

THE USSR DELEGATION ASSUMES THAT THE U.S. SIDE WILL DISPLAY THE NECESSARY CONSTRUCTIVE SPIRIT IN REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE RELEVANT MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE II, PAR. 3, OF THE DRAFT TREATY. EARLE

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